1: Karsten--65 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 628 (1928-29)

"Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited."

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 583, 628 (1928-29)

"....capture of women in general, within the sub-tribes, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Jibaro communities. The same may be said of elopements with another man's wife, an unlawful form of marriage which may give rise to lengthy and sanguinary feuds between the families."

1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

l: Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 754 (1928-29)

"When among the Jibaros a family father, especially a chief or a great warrior, dies, and a medicine-man, by drinking natéma, has established not only that death has been caused by witchcraft but also who the wizard is, it is incumbent on his nearest male relations, and first of all on his sons, to take revenge on the supposed assassin. At the death-bed of the father they make a solemn promise to fulfil this duty. Often the sons alone carry out the sanguinary business. If the sorcerer has many supporters they join the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased. Sometimes the conspirators also ask the advice of the chief of the tribe, but the latter generally does not take part in such a private feud unless he has some personal interest in it."

1; Karsten--279 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself. 'That sorcerer who has bewitched your father you will conquer and kill'. Or they say: 'If you make war against that sorcerer now, you will not succeed in killing him, but you will be killed yourself.' In the latter case the avenger desists from his plan, at least for the present. Again, if the answer is favourable, he with his followers makes the last preparations for the attack."

1: Karsten--279-280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Such an attack is sometimes planned and carried out in the greatest [280] secrecy. Sometimes, and more frequently, the victim is threatened beforehand, the avenger letting him know what fate is awaiting him. He may then save himself by quickly fleeing to another part of the country. But it may happen that he sends his enemies the following menacing challenge: 'I have been told that you intend to assault and kill me. All right; you may come if you have valour. I do not fear you, and I am ready to receive you.' Such resolute behaviour may cause the enemy to desist from the planned attack or to postpone it to another more opportune time. Among the Jibaros there also exists the following custom, through which the Indians try to inspire the enemy they want to kill with fear. Of a piece of manioc the likeness of a human head in miniature is formed, which is supposed to represent the enemy threatened. This head is put on the top of a stick, and the stick is fixed in the ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy's house. This procedure is supposed to have some power of promoting the plans of the avenger."

1: Karsten--280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276 (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

"The attack is carried out in different ways, depending on the circumstances. Sometimes the victim is attacked in his house at night, sometimes while he is working outside or travelling. In the former case the assault is made a little before dawn, at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. The Jibaros begin their day very early, and the family father is the first who gets up. Since it is difficult or impossible to force the entrance, the enemies generally avail themselves of the opportunity when he opens the door to perform his necessary duties. At this moment they rush upon him and kill him with their lances. If they are armed with guns or rifles and the house is not especially fortified, they creep along to the wall and through an opening in it try to give the sorcerer the death-dealing shot while he is sitting at the fire preparing his tobacco water or his guayusa. Having accomplished the deed, the assassins quickly steal away, leaving the rest of the inhabitants of the house unmolested.

It is, however, easier to kill the enemy while he is outside the house, [281] working or occasionally wandering in the forest. The conspirators beforehand carefully inquire about the movements of the intended victim, and ambush a place along the path where he has to pass. This place is generally one where some natural obstacle appears, consisting of a small rivulet which the sorcerer has to wade across, or of a swamp where he is obliged to go slowly. Sometimes they also put up along the path some of the secret signs which the Jibaros use as road marks, or to give friends indications as to the direction they ought to take. When the sorcerer arrives here, he stops to

examine what the mark means. At this moment the enemies rush forward and pierce him with their lances or shoot him to death. The dead body is left lying on the path or is thrown into the forest.

Naturally it also happens that the sorcerer is able successfully to defend himself, nay, even to kill his assailants. The sorcerers are nearly always also warriors--a fact quite natural on account of the danger of their profession--and always go armed, one threatened by his enemies, of course, being especially on the alert."

1: Karsten--281-282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 784 (1928-29)

"On the return from such a feud the avengers have for some time to observe certain rules of precaution with regard to their mode of life. The restrictions laid upon them are, however, much milder than those a Jibaro has to observe after he has killed an enemy of a foreign tribe, and essentially consist in fasting and sexual abstinence. During the two first days the slayer or slayers must abstain from drinking manioc beer (nihamánchi), the national beverage of the Jibaro Indians. His food consists of boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma, or of another kind of root fruit resembling the manioc, called sangu by the Jibaros and mandi in the Quichua language. He likewise eats a dish prepared of manioc and the leaves of the plant sangu, called ambi. He is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, as well as the flesh of the large wild hog (unta pakki), and of any kind of monkey. On the other hand, he is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the small rodent agouti (kayúka). He eats only the small birds of the forest which are killed with the blowpipe and nonpoisoned arrows. He eats only the smallest kinds of fish living in the rivers, a kind of sardine, and small shellfishes (chumakaí, sháchma). This diet is continued for two or three months. During the first month after having killed the sorcerer the Jibaro is likewise forbidden to sleep in his house, and passes his nights in a small ranch made on the bank of the river. After the lapse of the month he goes to a natural small waterfall (paccha or sasa) and takes a cold bath, letting the water fall on his naked [282] body. After this purification he returns to his home and may sleep in his house, not with his wife, but in the

ante-room or department of the men (called tangámasha). This sexual abstinence is observed as long as the fasting, namely, for two, or, among some Jibaros, three months. If the rules mentioned are infringed by the slayer the soul of the killed enemy, who constantly follows him thirsting for revenge, will take his life."

1: Karsten--282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas this blood-revenge within the tribe is most often carried out simply through assassinations, the feuds fought out between the different tribes are naturally on a larger scale and with more reason deserve the name of 'war'. In all his feuds, however, the Indian, if possible, avoids open fights, having recourse to treachery, assassinations, and sudden, generally night attacks. But if a real combat and hand-to-hand fighting ensue, the Jibaro warrior often displays both valour and contempt of death, a fact that is fully proved by the history of the Indians. Not to take flight, not to abandon his comrades in such a situation, but gallantly to meet the enemy with lance and shield, is the ambition of every real Jibaro warrior, and, as we have seen, the education of the boys from the beginning aims at imparting to them the qualities necessary for such behaviour."

2: Stirling--39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 628

"A typical unit or group under a curaka [KS: head of the household]consists of six or seven houses, each with its capito [KS: common war leader], situated over an area of 5 or 6 miles on some small river. Such a group has no name to designate it other than that of the stream on which it is located. The blood ties in such a group are likely to be rather close. All groupings of the Jivaros other than the household group proper, which is a natural family unit, are traceable directly to the custom of blood revenge. Such groups are in the nature of loose alliances for defensive or offensive warfare. Insomuch as war raids are purely in the nature of feuds, these alliances are never very extensive or very permanent."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

2: Stirling--116-117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 628

"In discussing the matter of shamanism it is necessary to understand something of the background of the system of blood revenge as practiced by the Jivaros, because many shamanistic practices result directly or indirectly from this basic custom. The Jivaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft and ordinary disease. If a man is afflicted with localized pains in some part of the body the trouble is attributed to witchcraft. However, there are a number of ailments, particularly those which have been brought to the Indians by the whites, which are looked upon as natural ailments.

If someone brings sickness to the house of a Jivaro so that a member of the family becomes ill and dies, that person is considered responsible for the death and is liable to blood revenge by the relatives of the victim. They may be willing to admit that the disease was not brought intentionally, but this does not excuse the responsibility. However, where the culprit is not considered morally liable, in most instances he may free himself from the blood revenge system by paying compensation to the family of the person who has died.

In the same way the Jivaros are apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases where the crime has not been caused willfully, as for example, when someone in a state of intoxication or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause of another person's death. However, in any of these instances, if the [117] evildoer refuses to pay to compensation asked, he becomes liable to blood revenge."

26: Brüning--73 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 628

It seems that among the Aguaruna Indians there is a sort of murderous revenge, though there is a way of redeeming it with gifts. I heard of one case where the gift of a blowgun eliminated the necessity for bloody revenge.

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 181, 628, 721

"The so-called 'fight-instinct' has frequently been mentioned as the cause of the war-like character of the Jibaros. There seem, however to be less mystical explanations, and the most common causes of fights and wars are probably the following: Violation of social mores, wish for revenge, damage through witchery, traditional rivalry, enmity, and stealing women. (3)[89]

It should, however, be noticed that there is a difference in practice concerning the killing within the same geographical group and between different geographical groups. In the first case, jus talionis is strictly followed. The same number from the enemy family is killed that was lost by the offended family. In the second case, namely, conflicts between different geographical groups, a complete war of extermination is carried out."

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]

"3. [Footnote 3; pages 86-88] That controversies on account of such factors as listed here usually lead to open fighting and killing is of course due to the lack of an established common law maintained by functional groups (police, judges, wardens), as the Swedish philosophers Hagerstrom and Olivecrona have pointed out. An experiment was made among the Yurupaza Jibaros in collaboration with Father Juan Ghinassi and with the consent of the Indians themselves. A jail was built at Father Juan's courtyard, and the Indians agreed to bring there all delinquents whom they unanimously regarded guilty, instead of letting the involved parties fight it out as they had done before. (As a matter of fact the majority of the Indians usually have a clear idea about who is the guilty according to the mores.) This turned out to be a working solution. The Indians considered the mere act of confinement as such to be a sufficiently severe penalty (the lack of liberty [87]is the greatest misfortune and shame that can occur to a Jibaro Indian), and the time of confinement was of no importance to them. The common 'sentence' was one or two days. All attempts to give Father Juan also judicial power were, however, in vain. The Indians correctly pointed out, that in spite of the fact that he had lived among them for the last twenty years, he didn't know as much as themselves about the mores and traditions of the society. During the subsequent seven months seventeen Indians were sentenced to imprisonment, and Father Juan's last report says that the rate of fighting and killing has decreased considerably. None of the Indians had insisted on long

prison terms, but some of them suggested that Father Juan should insult the prisoners several times a day as an additional penalty. All the 'plaintiffs' declared themselves to be content with the arrangement of imprisonment as a penalty."

12:Harner E-5 (1946-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding ayaut, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekas wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that inter-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a two days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls which wander about on breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims camp near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind rolling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824 part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237 shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must

practice the use of weapons, live for
battle and the hunt.

/333 cont./

000 595 357 [727] practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm [762] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 583 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 [579] [302] Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is [202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [175] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance; and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [797] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects.

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded.

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
361 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
• [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kanú yaĉi*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuiá, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *ati*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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When you are living well, thus, with all your *asi* and *yaĉi*, if someone comes and kills your *asi*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yaĉi*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untsi*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[3]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

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least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp. 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded. While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

After the successful completion of the killing expedition, and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri šuarā* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu šuarā* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwišin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
• 628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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441 572 593 [602] of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*awičī*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsučī*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 • 628 721 [572] The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *awigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *awigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *awigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *awigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back.

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *amigri* named Hintač was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *amigri*, Mukučam, of the *yaŋamra* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuašă, in the *čaŋusp* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuašă then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos.

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintač was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *amigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampitsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampitsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa.

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in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huarā* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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628 •

recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *wakani*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

721 727 765 [774] [829]

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *wakani*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *wakani* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

774 825 [796] [796] [796] [784]

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *wakani* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*tsantsi nawapcr*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a subminute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

765 727 796 774 796 796 825

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the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jivaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if
[276] one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
[787] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
• [628] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[721] and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive
[682] as sorcery or bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquility.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
602 Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved
69 party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanctions for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*musiak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musiak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

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628 682 728 [431] a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to terminate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family, accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 682 754 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are, in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assassination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 562 278 [593] The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] [727] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense [628] and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
428 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
593 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[587] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
727

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a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jívaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jívaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

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578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

682 The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*uunts*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *uunt* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jivaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as *possible* from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This *purpose* contrasts distinctly with the revenge

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

• 628 721 765 [727] [825] There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 701 727 554 624 [796] [342] A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *tsea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role, 726 beyond the usual *untă*. There may be two war chiefs if the [554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men 703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to 602 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close • 628 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another 726 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the *last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one* such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 This does not mean that Jivaro killing has been entirely
• 628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jivaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jivaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jivaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jivaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *wampi kuara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jivaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.